

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 TRSE-00
/074 W

-----049306 072346Z /15

O 072030Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6881
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0428

FROM LOW

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/LOW MEETING WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT

1. SUMMARY: PF LEADERS JOSHUA NKOMO AND SIMON MZENDA
OFFERED TO MEET US APRIL 14 AND 15 IN LUSAKA OR
APRIL 25-26 IN ARUSHA FOR MALTA II. NKOMO SAID PREVIOUS
COMMITMENTS WOULD NOT PERMIT HIM TO ADJUST THIS AND
NOTED THAT HE HAD ALREADY SPOKEN ABOUT IT TO THE
TANZANIANS AND THE ZAMBICANS, WHO RAISED NO OBJECTIONS.
AFTER SOME HEATED DISCUSSION AND ACCUSATIONS THAT THE
BRITISH WERE ABANDONING THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL AS
A BASIS FOR THE ALL PARTIES MEETING. NKOMO AGREED TO
ATTEND ON THE DATES SUGGESTED AND EXPRESSED NO STRONG
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OPINION ABOUT ITS LOCATION. END SUMMARY

2. WE MET FOR TWO AND A HALF HOURS FRIDAY AFTERNOON
WITH JOSHUA NKOMO AND SEVEN OTHERS IN PATRIOTIC FRONT
DELEGATION. NKOMO WITH SILUNDIKA AND MADZIMBAMUTO
FROM ZAPU. SIMON MZENDA, MUGABE'S DEPUTY, LED THE
ZANU DELAGATION WHICH INCLUDED TEKERE. THE MEETING

WAS ENTIRELY DEVOTED TO WORKING OUT THE MECHANICS OF THE TWO MEETINGS, WHERE AND WHEN THEY WOULD BE HELD. WHO WOULD BE THE OBSERVERS AND WHAT WOULD BE THE SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSIONS, PARTICULARLY AT THE ALL PARTIES MEETING. IN SPITE OF A LENGTHY AND SOMETIMES HEATED DEBATE. THE RESULT HAD CLEARLY BEEN DECIDED AHEAD OF TIME BY NKOMO AND MUCH OF WHAT HE WAS SAYING WAS MEANT FOR THE RECORD.

3. WE DISCUSSED FIRST DATE AND PLACE FOR MALTA II. NKOMO SAID HE HAD BEEN URGING US TO SCHEDULE THIS MEETING FOR WEEKS. IN THE MEANTIME HE HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF TO A NUMBER OF OTHER ENGAGEMENTS. THE FIRST WAS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT PATRIOTIC FRONT MEETING IN LUSAKA WHICH HAD BEEN ARRANGED SOME WEEKS BEFORE FOR APRIL 14 AND 15. HE THEN HAD TO LEAVE LUSAKA ON THE 16 TH HE SAID HE COULD ARRANGE TO COMPLETE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MEETING IN TIME TO HOLD MALTA II ON THE 14TH AND 15 TH BUT HE WOULD HAVE TO BE IN LUSAKA ON THE 16TH TO TRAVEL TO HIS NEXT COMMITMENT. IF THIS WAS NOT POSSIBLE. FOR US HE WAS THEN PREPARED TO MEET THE FOLLOWING WEEK OR ON APRIL 25-26 AS WE PREFERRED, AT ARUSHA. GRAHAM'S OFFER OF A PLANE TO TAKE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FROM LUSAKA TO ARUSHA WOULD NOT SOLVE NKOMO'S PROBLEM. GRAHAM THEN SAID THAT WE PREFERRED TO ACCEPT NYERER'S OFFER BUT THAT OWEN
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COULD MAKE A MEETING IN LUSAKA ON THE 14TH AND I UNDERTOOK TO INQUIRE WHETHER SECRETARY VANCE COULD MAKE A MEETING ON THE 14TH, NKOMO AGREED WHEN GRAHAM SAID THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO EXPLAIN TO NYERERE THAT IT WAS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S REQUEST THAT WE WERE CHANGING THE LOCATION. NKOMO SAID HE HAD ALREADY MENTIONED THIS TO TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE KATIKAZA, WHO HAD NO APPARENT PROBLEM. GRAHAM SAID HE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BRING THE MATTER UP WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. AGAIN NKOMO SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS WITH KAUNDA WHO ALSO HAD NO OBJECTION. MZENDA POINTED OUT THAT FINAL AGREEMENT WAS ALSO DEPENDENT ON MUGABE BUT NO ONE SAW A PROBLEM. THERE SINCE MUGABE WOULD ALREADY BE IN LUSAKA AND HAD AGREED TO (THE) 15-16 (APRIL) IN LAGOS.

4. THERE WAS A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF OBSERVERS AT THE MEETING. NKOMO AGREED READILY TO FRONT LINE REPRESENTATION BUT QUESTIONED THE NEW IDEA OF INVITING NIGERIA. NONE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD ANY OBJECTION, THEY ASSURED US, BUT THEY APPARENTLY HAD NOT EXPECTED IT. GRAHAM MADE CLEAR THAT THE UK WOULD DO THE INVITING PROVIDING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT

WANTED THE OBSERVERS AT WHICH THEY ALL NODDED. GRAHAM INDICATED THAT OWEN FELT THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE COMMON WEALTH SECRETARIAT NOT TO BE REPRESENTED UNTIL THE ALL PARTIES MEETING AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ACCEPTED THIS WITH SOME QUESTION (AND THE) REQUESTING THAT THE ABSENCE OF AN INVITATION TO THEM NOT BE ASCRIBED TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

5. WE PROCEEDED TO A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECTS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE ALL PARTIES MEETING, WHICH BECAME AT TIME HEATED AND EMOTIONAL ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S SIDE. MADZIMBAMUTO IN PARTICULAR ACCUSED THE BRITISH OF CREATING CHIRAU AND SUPPORTING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. NKOMO OVER AND OVER AGAIN RETURNED TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POINT THAT THE BRITISH HAD SHIFTED THEIR POSITION FROM INSISTENCE ON DISCUSSING THE PROPOSAL (AAP) DURING MONTHS OF NEGOTIATION WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO A SURPRISING NEW FLEXIBILITY WHEN IT CAME TO SMITH AND HIS GROUP. NOW SUDDENTLY THE BRITISH NO LONGER INSISTED ON DISCUSSION OF THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL. THE PF EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE CONFERENCE MIGHT LEGITIMIZE THE INTERNAL GROUP, WHICH GRAHAM STOUTLY DENIED. NKOMO SAID WE WERE CLEARLY MOVING TOWARD SALISBURY IN A EFFORT TO MAKE WHAT WE NOW DESCRIBED AS "INADEQUATE" MORE ADEQUATE.

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NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
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-----049453 072351Z /15

O 072030Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6882
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0428

FROM LOW

6. THE MOST DIFFICULT MOMENTS RELATED TO MILITARY MATTERS. NKOMO AND MADZIMBAMUTO RAISED THE SPECTRE OF DISCUSSING MILITARY MATTERS WITH CHIRAU, TREATING THE IDEA WITH DERISION. WHEN GRAHAM MENTIONED IN PASSING THE PROPOSAL TO CREATE AN ARMY LOYAL TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT, NKOMO MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT HE DID NOT PROPOSE TO ACCEPT AN ARMY CREATED BY THE BRITISH HE SAID HE HAD HIS OWN ARMY AND DIDN'T NEED ANY HELP IN CREATING ONE.

7. NKOMO INSISTED ON THE RECORD SHOWIN CLEARLY THAT THE BRITISH WERE MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS AWAY FROM THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS WHAT MOLLIFIED BY OUR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT WE WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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APPROACH THE ALL PARTIES MEETING FROM THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL, THOUGH WE COULD NOT CONTROL THE POSITION WHICH THE SMITH GROUP WOULD TAKE. NKOMO FINALLY AGREED THAT HE WOULD ATTEND THE MEETING. (HE CALLED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THE DETERGENT BEING USED BY THE BRITISH TO WASH THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS CLEAN) WE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT WE WERE ACCEPTING TO PARTICIPATE IN MALTA II ON THE BASIS OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO ATTEND THE ALL PARTIES MEETING. THEY ASKED WHETHER, IF SMITH AND THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS REFUSED TO ATTEND WE WOULD GO AHEAD ANYWAY WITH MALTA II AND WE REPLIED THAT WE WOULD. THEN THEY ASKED WHETHER WE WOULD GO AHEAD WITH THE ALL PARTIES EVEN IF SMITH REFUSED TO ATTEND AND WE POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE AN ALL PARTIES MEETING IN THAT CASE. WE WOULD HAVE TO SEE WHAT THE SITUATION WAS AT THE TIME.

8. NKOMO ASKED WHO WOULD BE INVITED AND HOW, THEY SEEMED TO PREFER INDIVIDUAL INVITATIONS TO RECOGNITION OF THE SMITH GROUP, THOUGH THEY ARGUED BOTH SIDES OF THIS ISSUE. GRAHAM READ THEM THE FORMAL INVITATION TO THE ALL PARTIES MEETING AGREED ON BETWEEN OWEN AND VANCE IN WASHINGTON IN EARLY MARCH. THEY OBJECTED

STRENUOUSLY TO THE REFERENCE IN IT TO "THE PARTIES TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT," PREFERRED NAMING THE PARTIES PATRIOTIC FRONT, UANC, ANC(S) ZUPO, BUT AGAIN WHEN WE PRESSED THEM THEY AGREED THIS COULD BE RESOLVED AND THAT WOULD COME TO THE MEETING. AS MADZIMBAMUTO PUT IT. "WE ARE COMING TO BOTH MEETINGS".

9. THERE WAS A SHORT DISCUSSION ON OBSERVERS AT THE ALL PARTIES MEETING. GRAHAM INDICATED THAT THE BRITISH WERE OPPOSED TO OBSERVERS PARTICIPATING IN THE MEETING, CONFIDENTIAL

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SAYING THEY COULD COME AND THE COMMON WEALTH SECRETARIAT WOULD BE INCLUDED THIS TIME BUT THEIR CONTACT WOULD HAVE TO BE OUTSIDE THE MEETING. NKOMO DOUBTED THAT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES THE SOUTH AFRICAN WOULD WANT TO BE INVOLVED. HOWEVER, HE TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO THE BRITISH POSITION THAT OBSERVERS WOULD NOT ATTEND THE MEETING. WE SAID WE COULD NOT CHANGE OUR POSITION ON THIS BUT THAT IT COULD BE DISCUSSED AT MALTA II. GRAHAM POINTED OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING THE NUMBERS DOWN AT THE MEETING.

10. NKOMO HAD NO STRONG VIEWS ABOUT WHERE THE ALL PARTIES MEETING SHOULD BE HELD WE DISCUSSED LIVINGSTONE, NEW YORK, NAIROBI (THE BRITISH ARE OPPOSED TO VIENNA). NKOMO SEEMED QUITE WILLING TO ACCEPT OUR VIEW THAT NAIROBI HELD MANY ADVANTAGES HE WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT NEW YORK.

11. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTION NKOMO SAID HE DOES WANT A FORMAL INVITATION FOR MALTA II FROM US (REFER PARA 3. STATE 089062).

12. WE DISCUSSED A PRESS STATEMENT. NKOMO SAID THAT IF HE STATED PUBLICLY HIS AGREEMENT TO COME TO THE ALL PARTIES MEETING HE WOULD INSIST ON ADDING THAT IT WAS TO BE BASED ON THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL. IN VIEW OF OUR MEETINGS WITHIN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO IN SALISBURY, WE DECIDED ON THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION, WHICH SILUNDIKA READ TO THE PRESS AFTER THE MEETING. BEGIN TEXT. WE HAVE DISCUSSED AND AGREED UPON A PROGRAM OF MEETINGS, THE FIRST OF WHICH WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS AND WILL BE ATTENDED BY FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE. END TEXT.

13. COMMENT: NKOMO WILL PROBABLY HAVE SOME STRONG WORDS AT PRESS CONFERENCES AND AT MALTA II MEETING RESERVED FOR THE BRITISH (AND AMERICANS) ON ABANDONMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS BUT HE HAS
CLEARLY AGREED TO ATTEND THE ALL PARTIES MEETING
FOLLOWING MALTA II INDEPENDENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE
LATTER. WE MADE THIS LATTER POINT VERY CLEAR.

14. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT PLEASE CONFIRM TO
EMBASSY MAPUTO WHETHER SECRETARY VANCE CAN ARRIVE IN
TIME FOR APRIL 14 MEETING IN LUSAKA. WE MADE QUITE
CLEAR TO NKOMO THE DIFFICULTY OF SHIFTING CHANGES IN
SECRETARY'S VANCE'S AND DR. OWEN'S SCHEDULE. THERE IS
NO QUESTION BUT THAT NKOMO HAD A REAL SCHEDULING
PROBLEM AND WOULD NOT BACK AWAY FROM OFFERING US
EITHER THE 14TH AND 15TH IN LUSAKA OR THE 25TH -26TH
IN ARUSHA.
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